

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post LONDON, MONDAY, MAY 11, 1981

Established 1887

## Mitterrand Beats Giscard to End 23 Years of Conservative Rule



Maw wiwn widw Mitterrand: An Unpredictable Course Toward Victory

bib, Assad Confer; rian Cabinet Told T Military Planning Jomenc Chail












## Theories Proliferate on Israeli-Syrian Confrontation



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Spanish Civil Guards Kill 3 Suspected ETA Youths
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New Spasm of Yiolence Deepens Pessimism in Spain

By James M. Markham


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Conservative Group Aiming at Kennedy
By Donald p．Bukcr

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Water Supply Levels In U．S．High Plains ＇Worst in 45 Years＇

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## PAR IS AMUSEMENTSS

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## Iteralion unu Tribune

## Leadership Is a Good Horse

The news of the week was The Reagan Vic
ory. At least it was part of the news. Whe ory. At least it was part of the news. Whe ent's stringent budget by a 77 -vote margin even Democrats were impressed. "He's a
winner and he's a hero." said Thomas Foley winner and he's a hero
Still, ail the news was not triumph. On the very same day, there was another headline hen bis long-term investors insist trader hen big long-ent inlerest, it is a flaming si aal that they do not believe inflation will be onquered. How able a leader Presiden Reagan is will now turn not on bow much
capital be has won in the political arena but what be can buy with it in the economic. There is no minimizing the presiden's po tical accomplishment. It was a lesson fo eneralize too quickly about the weakness of ations of opinion in one generation.
The presidency is weak, said James
MacGregor Burns in his 1963 book The Deadlock of Democracy." Congress block kils most bold presidential proposals. Y ing all over itself to support a new presiden: efore long, many thoughr the presidency not only strong. but too strong. By 1974 , Arhur Schlesinger was writing of an impenial
presidency. By May of Jimmy Carter's first year, once again. people were saying, too
weak.

## Japan and Defense

In the course of explaining to Congress the small size and discreet shape of his country's
defense posture Japan's Premier Zenko defense posture, Japan's Premier zeako We would prefer to be a wise mouse rathe

The U.S. argument with Japan over its de ense role has been going on, politely, for extraordinarily respectful of the special cir-
cumstances - defeat in World War II and eing the target of the only nuclear weapon an's constitutional ban on war, its low rate of defense spending and its nuclear allergy That these limitations are imbedded in Japanese politics is wel known. The Unite an essential great-power umbrella.
The Japanese seem slow to recognize, howedge freely, for instance, that they are stil in 1976, as though it were something crosanct. But one does not have to subscribe ons, which a mount to a completet tearing up ue U.S. defense plan of 1976, to gran 981. Mr. Suzuk's predecessor told Ameri-
cans last year tbat Japan would increase de

## Influencing Guatemala

Frankly, when we suggested the other day itary aid to Guatemala in order to acquir ment's with which to tame the govern ment's repressions, we were quite aware tha
the idea is subject to abuse. but we did no know the administration was beading so fas emarged. The United States evidently is to emerged. The United to tates evidenty is to tatorship, but to do so on grounds that there
are some $2000{ }^{\circ}$ - Cuban-supported Marxist are some 2,000 "Cuban-supported Marxis
guerrillas" in Guatemala. The notion of us ing aid for leverage seems to bave faded into as evidence of good intentitions be beld np lowed to get in the way.
hough they are certainly in some sense C ban-ncouraged, they bave been around fo解 guemila buildup in the last year or so, bu reacrion to the almost unbelievable scale of volence conducted, not against guerrillas but against civilians by the government's se cial ties. Amnesty International suggests off perhaps 3,600 citizens have been killed bave "disappeared" in the last two years. The
arny claims to have lost only 62 men in
1980 .


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fense spending by 9,7 percent (to 1 percent of
GNP). The actual figure was 7.6 percent GNP). The actual figure was 7.6 percent
One does not want to get hung up on numbers, but as indices they have their value. In the Japanese view, their most valuable area than in fostering stability by belping ou in Third World development. They are righ to underline the link between developmen ment to, not a substitute for, the link of se curity. The strain on this issue is not some-
thing new with the Reagan administration thing new with the Reagan admin
and it is, we suspect, bound to grow.
Most of the diplomacy the two nations their imomense and delicate economic ex changes. These are not likely to get easier. Unilil now. they have been conducted in an atmosphere relatively free of differeaces on countries' interests that this continue. Just as there had to be earnest negotiation and comso must there be a continuing engagement on the security issue. The Americans must listen hard, but the Japanese cannot simply explain
their special conditions and sit back with olded arms. Americans do not expect Japan to become a lion that roars. But a lion that
squeaks?
THE WASHINGTON POST.

Mr. Reagan has shown he is a leader. He has wisely concentrated his administration' have been tactically adept: they are said to know the hill so well tey even know wha O'Neill smokes (Don Diego). Small wonder that they defeated the Democrats budge
plan. That plan was not really hostile to very different from, the Reagan approach. It was skillfully designed, reasonable - prefer Victory notwithstanding
cbeer in the news from the markets. Any eco nomic program must try to do two things:
retard inflation and stimulate growth. But when long-term interest rates hit 14 percent. coming down. The skidding stock market, meanwhile, suggests vast skepticism abou
growth. Having won a political license for
holding back federal spending will the presin growth. Having won a poilitical license foral spending will the president now use it?
Will be chop
needy, with respect to Social Security? Will be be bold enough also to curtail the invisible he now spearpen his proposals freaks? Wal cuts cient stimulators of growth? week may end up as the high point of the week may end up as the high point of the
administration. To paraphrase Matthew Arnold, leadership is a good borse, but a borse THE NEW YORK TIMES.

##     sacrifice implicit in every cchoice. The poin waste same. There is no rire luncc. There can be litte argument wilh that fro  can't have it both ways, for yourc." tomething, you h Sacrifice <br> In politics, though, there is, generally speak-  change office for anything, And one or thes persuade a pubblic that has grown soft that sacinices are necessary. President Reapan helped himstands that Rim to get elected and to retain  Never the resideat's assertions. the public tradict the ready to believe what it wansi to believe. Jimay Carer eiter fand that, or if bed did understand ti to understand muster the did understand in could not quite  There are a number of issues at the momen mose of hhem defense and foretgn policy rel od that help ill 

## On NATO: Read the Fine Print

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

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|  | Then, there's the military draft. There are few members of Congress who are knowledge able' about defense issues who do not believe defease posture. And many liberals and conservatives believe that there are numerous social virtues to conscription. <br> Yet Mr. Reagan, the apostle of a strong United Suates with the best possible defense establishment, opposed the draft during bis simple: The draft is death on votes. The American people are unwilling to sacrifice their ser- vice and their sons. The president and the members of Congress are unwilling to sacrifice votes. <br> The president is praised for his ability to and about their con good about hemseives served. That is part of the role of leadership. But it is not evesything And it is a talent that can be abused. <br> Costing Votes? <br> It is more difficult, and often more impoitant, to teach the hard lessons - the ones people don't want to learn because they involve trade-offs, or in Kierkegaard's blumter term? sactifices. <br> The right decision on the grain embargo ould have involved teaching that kind of lesson. The president shiod away froru it. The MX and draft decisions invorve she same will make political decisions in those cases, 100. <br> If he does, he will be sacrificing national security on the altar of politics. That is not a happy trade-ofi. And m the lasistar day of reckoning on the economy. Empty promises can take a president just so far. In the end, there is always a price to pay, for the public and the president. |
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| at about deployment of the M aside the question of wbether eds the MX, which I believe on is how to base it and where <br> Mormon Protest |  |
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What these figures suggest to us is that any
program of U.S. military aid not tied tightly to specific measures on limiting official vio Lucas Garcia government, which is outside the pale even for some of Washington's most
reflexive anti-Communist combatants, is the reflexive anti-Communist combatants,
chief source of the guerrill movement. If the administration's aim is simply to en. If ins aim is to stop the killings in order to try to belp make Guatemala a healthy society
and an effective anti-Communist bulwark. then it must tie aid to government performo-
ance. Whether the Reagan administration ance. Whether the Reagan administration
has self-discipline to makee that connec-
tion remains the tion remains the relevant question. Actually, administration self-discipline is
already being tested in El Salvador. The situation is different there: Mr. Reagan inherited inherited a vaccuununt, wh forle in Gus current official
$U . S$. ies are concer Before trying his hand in Guatemaia might be useful for Mr. Reagan to show repression back into the botte in El Salvador, even while aiding the local junta in a is trying. perrhaps harder than some critics THE WASHINGION POST

Fifty Years Ago

PARIS - Nearly 80 percent of the noney now

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Trade-Offs: There Is No Free Lunch
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## In the International Edition

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Walesa Downplays Role, Departs for Japan Visit

hemala Indians Are Caught in Middle onflict Between Govermment, Rebels ${ }_{=1}^{W}$ Warnen Hoge


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Senate Cuts U.S. Retirement Programs



## Swiss Bank Corporation:

## Your key to success.



Controlled growth in difficult environment international finance-Swiss Bank Corporation saw its total assets grow from Sfr. 69.180
million to Sfr. 74,100 million. million to Sfr. 74,100 million. This $7 \%$ increase reaffirms our commitment to our worl
wide markers, particularly wide markets, particular
since over $75 \%$ of the gro was in branches outside Swizerland. Our net profit also
rose in 1980-to Sfr. 287 million. At the same time, Swiss Bank Corporation deliberately placed somewhat less empha
sis on inter-bank operations sis on inter-bank operation (which were scaled dow slighty) to focus more on cial customers and public corporations (loans to customers increased $13 \%$ overall). The Sfr. 570 million in the issue of long.dated bond capital (inTHE KEY SWISS BANK.
cluding subordinated capital long-term funds. The accent in general was on controlled growth in the
balance sheet. upgrading the loan portfolio and improving iss maturity structure, and raising pronability Meeting clients' needs Swiss Bank Corporation
takes the resourcefulness and takes the resourcefulness and reliability associated with the matches them to today's matches them
market needs.

Our scope, experience and sophistication have helped us expand and refine our services uncertain global economy. uncertain global economy finance-from corporarefinance to the more traditional banking facilities. With our wide range ofbranches and representaives in six continents, Swiss Bank Corporation quickly
mobilizes resources to help you capitalize on your oppor tunities when and where they arise.
An international presence this is that we've built up a
large international network
with particular strength in with parucular strength in
major markets and financial centres-exactly where you're likely to want help with far. way investments, foreign banking services and overseas trade transactions. This doesn' mean we take a distant ap problems... On the contrary our close involvement has led us into various nonbanking areas that don't make a great mpression on our own balance sheet but do have a considerable impact on our
customers' projects and per. formance: special financing management consulting, economic research, enginee ing services, etc.
bout our own to leam more 1980. just use the coupon Profile"-a booklet that also ells you where you can find our branches in Switzerland and abroad. as well as our representative offices, subsidiaries, affiliated companies and members of the Swiss Ban Group. In shors the key to Group. In short, the key to


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S. Synfuel Project With Japanese, W. Germans, Appears to Be Doomed

## ve Abroad Typifies ount's Risk-Taking

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## Wary Analysts Reluctant to Give Buy Signal


#### Abstract

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\section*{This announcement appears as a matter of record only.}


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The National Bank of Kurwait S.A.K.
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Union de Banques Arabes et Françaises - U.B.A.F.

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Reviewed by John Leonard

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## Chess

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## Red Smith

## New York Has a Fight on Its Hands



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nal promoter pui up and forfeited.

 Dibbs Holds Off Kirmayr, Wins Champions' Tourney

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| NEW YORK - Eddie. Dibbs, playing nearly flawiess tennis, won the lennis ournament or Champi-ons here Sunday, $6-3,6-2$ over Car- |  |
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| firs1 serves in and made is un-forced errors on his forehand and14 on his backhand. |  |
| Dibbs, seeded 10th, advanced to the finals by elimmaling Dominic Bedel, No. 7 seed Johan Krick,No. 2 seed Jose-Luis Clerc and |  |
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| Noth-secoded Viclor Pecci. |  |
| Hoyd Wins in Itealy |  |
| PERUGIA, Italy (AP) - Topseceded Chris Evart Loyd won the |  |
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| ship for the second year in a rowSunday with a 6-1, $6-2$ victory overVirginia Rurici. |  |
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OH. NO - Manchester City, winger Tommy Hutchinson was properly concemmed whenn, with
10 minutes left in Saturday's 100th F.A. Cnp soccer final against Tottenham at London's Wembley Stadium, he headed the ball past his own goalie, Joe Corrigan. Hutchinsop - Who
scored the game's only other goal when his header beat goalkeeper Milija Aleksic in the 30th minute - had been trying to deflect a shot by Tottenham's Glenn Hodille. The teams played

## Language

## Bop and Go Signs

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## Philadelphia Story

From Giant Clothespin to Wrong-Way William Penn,


PEOPLE: Former American Hc



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